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ABSTRACT

Using a revised theoretical model of newsworthiness, a study investigated the prominence with which world events are covered by the United States news media. The model differs from previous newsworthiness studies by adding two measures of the deviance of events and by including several country-based social significance predictor variables. Two hundred events that occurred outside the United States were selected from the 1985 Keesing's index. Coverage of world events was measured for the "New York Times" and the three major television network news programs, according to the prominence of each event's coverage. Results indicated that prominence of news coverage is best explained by normative deviance and economic factors interacting. Findings suggest that an important contributor to variance in U. S. media coverage of world events is an interaction between the deviance of the events and the social significance to the United States of the country in which the event occurs, as well as the separate main effects of these variables. (Tables of data and figures are included, and footnotes and references are appended.) (NKA)

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DEVIANT ACTS AND RISKY BUSINESS:

U.S. COVERAGE OF WORLD EVENTS

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DEVIANT ACTS AND RISKY BUSINESS: US COVERAGE OF WORLD EVENTS

Newsworthiness is a concept central to sources, news producers, and, by logical extension, mass media scholars. This paper makes a preliminary test of a revised theoretical model of newsworthiness (Shoemaker, Brendlinger, Danielian, and Chang, 1987) that predicts the prominence with which events are covered by the U.S. news media. The model differs from the many previous newsworthiness studies (for example, Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Kaplan, 1979) by adding two measures of the deviance of events. Also, testing the model on international event coverage has allowed the inclusion of several country-based social significance predictor variables.

International News Coverage

Media researchers have looked at international news coverage for more than 20 years (for example, Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Hart, 1966; Smith, 1971; Sande, 1971; Hester, 1971; Hicks and Gordon, 1974; Gerbner and Marvanyi, 1977; Lent, 1977; and Semmel, 1977). During the last 15 years, much of this research has focused on accusations against the Western media's coverage of Third World countries. New World Information Order scholars accuse the Western media of providing an inadequate and disproportionate amount of the newshole to coverage of Third World countries (Masmoudi, 1979), even though these countries make up nearly three-fourths of the world's total population. And these researchers have found that news events which are covered tend to focus on crises and conflicts, thus reinforcing the stereotypes of instability in the Third World. Of course, U.S. media watchers also realize that a good proportion of the total information produced about the West also tends to focus on such "bad" news.

The resulting impression of these critiques places the Western media in a "leadership role" in setting news agendas, thereby implying that Western journalists may be imposing their news values on the rest of the world. But another possibility exists: All newspersons may have developed similar news values as a result of the structural constraints and economic imperatives of newsmaking. Some studies suggest that journalists share at least some common

news values (Sreberny-Mohammadi, Nordenstreng, Stevenson, and Ugboajah, 1985), but others suggest very real cultural, and therefore ideological, differences among journalists. For example, Peterson (1979) found differences in news values between Western and non-Western stringers to the London Times.

Newsworthiness

Four recent studies of U.S. coverage of world events have looked at the theoretical bases of the newsworthiness concept (Shoemaker, Chang, and Brendlinger, in press; Chang, Shoemaker, and Brendlinger, in press; Shoemaker, Brendlinger, Danielian, and Chang, 1987; Brendlinger, Danielian, and Shoemaker, 1987). These studies have provided empirical support for including the concept of deviance as a central theoretical determinant of newsworthiness.[1]

Shoemaker, et al. (in press) demonstrated that world events covered by the New York Times and the three major television networks had higher deviance scores than non-covered events. Chang, et al. (in press) showed that normative deviance and potential for social change deviance were better discriminators of event coverage than language affinity to the U.S., amount of press freedom, or similarity of economic system. Proximity and U.S. involvement in the

event also discriminated between covered and non-covered events in the Chang study.

In the Shoemaker, Brendlinger, Danielian, and Chang study (1987), 13 social significance variables, measured as characteristics of the event itself or of the country in which the event occurred, were added to the analyses.[2] Deviance was still the strongest predictor (R^2 change = .15, $p<.001$) of news coverage. But U.S. business concerns with the event country also accounted for event coverage and prominence above and beyond the event's deviance for television. U.S. involvement in the events, a social significance characteristic of the events, was an important predictor of how prominently the New York Times covered the events. Brendlinger, et al. found nearly identical results even when two countries are included in the analyses (when two foreign countries are involved in the event).

Based on these findings, Shoemaker, et al. proposed a revised theoretical model for predicting the newsworthiness of events. The revised model (see Figure 1) recognizes that events of high deviance or high social significance are likely to be covered prominently. Events of high deviance and high social significance should receive the most prominent coverage. Events of either low deviance and high social significance or of high deviance and low social significance should be given moderate prominence. The least prominently covered events should be of low deviance and low social significance, and these should be covered only if

they are timely and/or proximate to the media organization's headquarters. Events of low deviance and low social significance which are neither timely nor proximate should not be covered at all.

The purpose of this paper is to test specific aspects of the revised model. The general hypothesis is that outside of the main effects previously found for the two deviance variables and certain social significance variables, interactions between these variables also will predict news coverage.

METHOD

The dependent variables in the study include both whether an international event is covered in the U.S. media and how prominently it is covered in the New York Times and on CBS, NBC, and ABC national newscasts. The independent variables include the normative and social change deviance of the event, along with several measures of social significance and proximity.

International events were sampled from Keesing's 1985 Contemporary Archives: Record of World Events.

Event Deviance

Two hundred events from the 1985 Keesing's index were sampled.[3] Events were selected if they occurred outside of

the United States. Photocopies of the descriptions of each event were acquired, and the deviance of each event was coded independently by two of the authors, using operational definitions of deviance from Shoemaker, et al. (in press).[4] Potential for social change deviance was operationalized by a four-point scale relating the extent to which the event threatens the status quo in the country in which the event occurred. Normative deviance was operationalized by a four-point scale relating the extent to which the event, if it had occurred in the United States, would have broken U.S. norms.

Social Significance

The social significance of events was measured according to 13 characteristics of the country in which the event occurred and according to whether the United States was involved in the event. The following characteristics were coded:

o Gross domestic product, which is the total market value in U.S. dollars of all goods and services produced within the domestic borders of a country during one year. The most recent statistics available were used, usually from 1983. Pre-1980 numbers were not used even if they were the most recent statistics available. Sources included the United Nations Statistical Pocketbook (United Nations, 1985), The World Almanac and Book of Facts (Newspaper Enterprise Association, 1985, and The World Factbook (Central Intelligence Agency, 1983).

o The number of U.S. businesses was defined as the number of nonbank U.S. companies and their nonbank foreign affiliates in the event country having assets, sales, or net income of at least $10 million. The source for this information was the Bureau of Economic Analysis 1983 Survey (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1985).

o U.S. direct investment abroad represents the total foreign assets in U.S. dollars of U.S. investors in the event country as measured by the Bureau of Economic Analysis 1983 Survey (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1985).

o U.S. military presence is measured as a dichotomous yes/no variable (dummy coded for the regression analysis) by including any U.S. military installation abroad, including direct access to foreign military installations. Sources included the U.S. World Military and Government Installations Directory Service (1986) and Cragg (1983).

o Foreign imports to the U.S. is measured using 1984 dollar figures from the Statistical Abstracts of the United States (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1986).

o U.S. exports to foreign countries is measured using 1984 dollar figures from the Statistical Abstracts of the United States (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1986).

o Military alliances included all alliances in force as of 1985, according to the U.S. Department of State's Treaties in Force on January 1, 1986. These included the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), Central Treaty Organization

(CENTO), the Pacific Charter, and the Rio Treaty. A country's participation in each alliance was individually dummy coded.

o U.S. economic aid to the county is measured by adding the total dollar amounts for the following assistance programs: Development Assistance, Economic Support Fund, Food for Peace Title I, Food for Peace Title II, Narcotics, and the Peace Corps. 1984 totals were the most recent figures available (Statistical Annex 2, 1984).

o U.S. military aid to the country is measured by adding the total dollar amounts for the following assistance programs: Foreign Military Sales, Military Assistance Program (MAP), and Military Education and Training Program. 1984 totals were the most recent figures available (Statistical Annex 2, 1984).

o U.S. involvement was dummy coded according to whether the event description in Keesing's index listed the United States as one of the countries involved in the event.

Proximity

Proximity is measured as the distance in kilometers from the capital of the country in which the event occurred to Washington, D.C. (Fitzpatrick and Modlin, 1986).

Media Coverage

Coverage of world events was measured for the New York Times and three major U.S. television network (CBS, ABC, NBC) news programs. Coders first consulted the appropriate

Television News Index and Abstract (Vanderbilt Television News Archives) and the New York Times Index to discover whether each event was covered by these media. Measurements were taken directly from the Vanderbilt abstracts and from photocopied articles from the Times. These media were selected because they are as likely or more likely to cover international events than most other newspapers and would, therefore, provide a stronger test for the hypotheses.

Media coverage was measured according to the prominence of each event's coverage. It is assumed that events which are covered have been assessed as more newsworthy than events which are not covered and that there is a positive relationship between prominence of coverage and newsworthiness. To determine news coverage, both 1984 and 1985 media indices were searched for at least one month before and after the event was estimated to occur (some Keesing dates are ambiguous).

Measurements of coverage prominence included:

o Mean story length on ABC, CBS, and NBC about the event (total number of seconds about the event divided by the total number of stories).

o Mean story length in the New York Times about the event (total number of square inches of coverage about the event divided by the total number of stories).

o Mean location of the television stories within the newscast. For each story the following scale was used and the mean position was calculated for all stories: (3) story

was in first third of the program; (2) story was in middle third of the program; (1) story was in last third of the program.

o Mean location of the newspaper stories within the newspaper. For each story the following scale was used and the mean position was calculated for all stories: (4) on the first page of the newspaper; (3) on the first page of any section but the first; (2) in the first section, but not on the first page; (1) any other position.

These variables were combined to form prominence indexes for both the New York Times and network television coverage. Newspaper prominence was computed by multiplying an event's mean article length by the mean location of the newspaper stories within the newspaper. Television prominence was computed by multiplying an event's mean story length by the mean location of the television stories within the broadcasts. These two prominence measures were used as dependent variables in the regression analyses described below. Events which were not covered were given prominence scores of zero.

Interaction Variables

Those variables which resulted in significant zero-order Pearson correlations as determined in the most recent test of the model (Shoemaker, Brendlinger, Danielian, and Chang, 1987) were selected to form the new interaction variables. These six variables are: Number of U.S.

businesses in the country, Amount of U.S.exports to the country, Financial worth of U.S. direct investments in the country, U.S. involvement in the event, Potential for social change deviance, and Normative deviance. All possible interactions among these six variables were tested in the regression analyses.

RESULTS

As has been reported elsewhere (Shoemaker, et al., 1987), only 21 percent of all sampled events from the 1985 Keesing's index were covered by the New York Times and only 16 percent were covered by the three network television news broadcasts combined.

Table 1 shows zero-order Pearson correlation coefficients for the independent variables with television and newspaper event prominence. Of the main effect variables, both deviance variables and U.S. involvement were related with statistical significance to the prominence with which events are portrayed in both television and in the Times. The number of U.S. businesses in, the worth of U.S. direct investment, and the amount of U.S. exports to the country were related to television prominence but not to newspaper prominence. Many of the interactions, especially those involving deviance variables, were significantly related to prominence.

Tables 2 and 3 show the hierarchical regression analyses testing the incremental additions to R^2 of each block of variables to the prominence of television-covered events (Table 3) and of newspaper-covered events (Table 2). Independent variables were entered in the following order: (a) proximity; (b) U.S. involvement; (3) 13 country-based measures of social significance; (d) two deviance measures, and; (e) 15 selected interactions between U.S. involvement, the two deviance measures, and three social significance variables.

The results vary somewhat between the New York Times and the three television networks. For the Times, U.S. involvement (block 2) and deviance (block 4) are predictors of how prominently the Times covered world events. For the television networks, country social significance, deviance, and the interactions between social significance and deviance are all statistically significant contributors to R^2.

A look at the standardized betas in Tables 2 and 3 reveals which of the individual variables are most important in explaining variance in event coverage. Among the 13 country-based measures of social significance (block 3), U.S. exports to the event country, U.S. imports from the event country, and the number of U.S. businesses have statistically significant betas in the television analysis (Table 2), indicating that these economic variables are important determinants of how prominently the three

television networks cover world events. The two deviance variables (block 3) are also both important. Among the interactions (block 5), those three interactions between normative deviance and U.S. exports and the worth of U.S. businesses are statistically significant in both the newspaper and television analyses.

These results are consistent with our earlier studies and support the notion that world events will be considered the most newsworthy when they are both deviant and have important economic social significance to the United States (see Figure 1). The finding of statistically significant interactions between deviance and economic variables, however, indicates that the presence of both of these conditions (when both deviance and economic social significance are high) has an effect on event coverage beyond the simple additive contribution of deviance and social significance variables.

Figures 2 and 3 show the interactions between dichotomized normative deviance and a categorized U.S. export variable as they affect how prominently world events are covered by the New York Times and by the three major U.S. television networks. The presence of an interaction between deviance and exports is clear in the television example (Figure 2), with the events of high deviance occurring in countries to which the U.S. exports a large amount of goods receiving coverage of far more prominence than other events. An interaction in the newspaper analysis

is less clear (Figure 3), although this interaction did produce a statistically significant beta in the regression analysis (Table 2).

Figures 2 and 3 also show clear main effects of deviance and exports, with events of high deviance getting more prominent coverage than events of low deviance and events occurring in countries which are important customers for U.S. goods getting more prominent coverage than events which occur in countries which are poor customers.

DISCUSSION

This study represents one more step in our understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of the concept of newsworthiness. Building on previous research, we have shown that an important contributor to variance in U.S. media coverage of world events is an interaction between the deviance of the events and the social significance to the United States of the country in which the event occurs, as well as the separate main effects of these variables. This is consistent with the theoretical model proposed by Shoemaker, et al. (1987) in which events of high deviance and high social significance are covered most prominently.

We are also able to explain more of the variance in U.S. coverage of international events with the inclusion of the 15 interactions. Our last analysis including all blocks

except the interaction variables (Shoemaker, et al. 1987) resulted in a total R^2 of .25 (p .001) for the Times and a total R^2 of .30 ($p<.001$) for the three combined networks. The inclusion of the interactions increases the R^2 for the Times to .36 ($p<.01$) and increases the R^2 for television network news to .49 ($p<.001$).

We found that prominence of news coverage is best explained by normative deviance and economic factors interacting together. Normative deviance is defined as the extent to which the event, if it had occurred in the United States, would have broken U.S. norms. The two economic factors making a contribution are the amount of U.S. exports to the event country and the amount of U.S. direct investment in the event country. This finding is intuitively sound since the breaking of norms might be of more news value when U.S. money is at risk.

The significant interactions indicate, however, that the model (see Figure 1) does not reveal the full extent of the interaction, instead showing the sum of main effects of deviance and social significance. Figure 2 shows in more detail how the statistically significant interaction between normative deviance and the amount of U.S. exports to the event country impacts on coverage of world events by U.S. television networks. The interaction adds to the main effects of these variables to better explain event coverage. This suggests that the model (Figure 1) may need to revised for television. That is, although deviance and social

significance are both related as main effects to how prominently television covers world events, the presence of both of these conditions in one event dramatically accentuates the newsworthiness of that event over and above the effects of the two variables acting independently.

Interaction variables did not explain a statistically significant portion of the variance in event coverage by the New York Times although some interaction variables do have statistically significant betas in both regression analyses. The difference, in part, may be the result of varying constraints on the amount of world news which newspapers and television news programs can transmit each day. With only a small number of stories possible in television news programs, news judgment may call for an event ranking important on a number of criteria before it is selected for coverage. Newspaper personnel have more flexibility in judgment with their larger newsholes, thereby allowing for the inclusion of some events which out of necessity might be judged as marginally newsworthy by their television counterparts.

It is clear that the concept of deviance continues to be an important theoretical contributor to newsworthiness, especially acting in concert with economic measures of social significance and also as an independent main effect. Deviance should be seen as a substantial contributor in a matrix of other variables explaining newsworthiness. Seen this way, deviance variables seem to make more sense out of

the more traditional newsworthiness variables most researchers continue to use.

The nexus of normative deviance and economic factors found in this paper also provide some interesting food for thought about those who accuse the Western media of bias. There is some preliminary support for the conclusion that the news media tend to focus most on those events that touch the U.S. pocket book and are perceived as a threat to U.S. norms. Others might conclude that this is the natural and expected order of things. But this natural order of things is the status quo and social change in such a situation can be difficult to understand. As citizen participants dependent on the news media for our "pictures of the world," we are seldom privy to the ongoing social and political processes of Third World countries. For example, we are constantly surprised by the "sudden" turmoil and turnabouts in countries such as South Korea, the Philippines, or Iran. And some critics might make similar analogies to our lack of awareness of some matters right here at home (Gitlin, 1980; Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978).

The myriad issues concerning the role of the news media in social change are worthy of examination by both citizens and social scientists alike, and the development of a broader theoretical framework for newsworthiness may prove to be a solid foundation from which to build.

FOOTNOTES

[1] "Social change deviance"" was operationalized by a four-point scale relating the extent to which the event threatens the status quo in the country in which the event occurred (the extent to which the country may be changed by the event). "Normative deviance" is defined as the extent to which the event, if it had occurred in the United States, would have broken U.S. norms. The contextual reference is to the United States and not to the country in which the event occurred, because the study at hand involves coverage of the event in the U.S. media, not in the county's own media.

[2] Social significance is defined as the extent to which the event is important (or has impact or consequence to government and economic institutions as well as to social structures) to the United States. Social significance can be thought about along three dimensions: cultural, economic, and political. We assume that U.S. journalists, writing for U.S. audiences, will use the United States as the referent for judging the social significance of world events. Thus, may of our measures of social significance will assess the United States' vested interests in the event country, including economic and military ties.

[3] Events were sampled from the 1985 Keesing's Index and the social significance indicators were taken from the most recently available statistics -- almost all pre-1985. It does make sense, nonetheless, to use social significance measures that precede the media measures of prominence.

[4] Pearson correlation coefficients testing for intercoder reliability between the two coder's ratings were: potential for social change deviance, r=.82, and normative deviance, r=.93. Potential for social change deviance was operationalized on a four-point scale: 1) The event is not at all threatening to the status quo; 2) The event is somewhat threatening to the status quo. it may result in changes at some future time, although change is unlikely in the near future; 3) The event is dangerous to the maintenance of the status quo. The event will probably change the status quo in some way, although not necessarily

in a very serious way; 4) The event is extremely dangerous to the continued maintenance of the status quo in the country. This event will almost certainly seriously change the status quo. Normative deviance was operationalized on a four-point scale: 1) If the event had occurred in the U.S., it would not have broken any norms; 2) If the event had occurred in the U.S., it would have somewhat violated U.S. norms, but things like this seem to be occurring in the U.S. more often. U.S. norms on this topic may be changing; 3) If the event had occurred in the U.S., it would have violated existing U.S. norms, but isolated instances like this event do occur from time to time in the U.S.; 4) If the event had occurred in the U.S., it would have definitely broken U.S. norms. Such an event has never or almost never been known to occur in the U.S.

Figure 1. Revised theoretical newsworthiness model to predict the prominence with which events will be covered by the U.S. mass media.

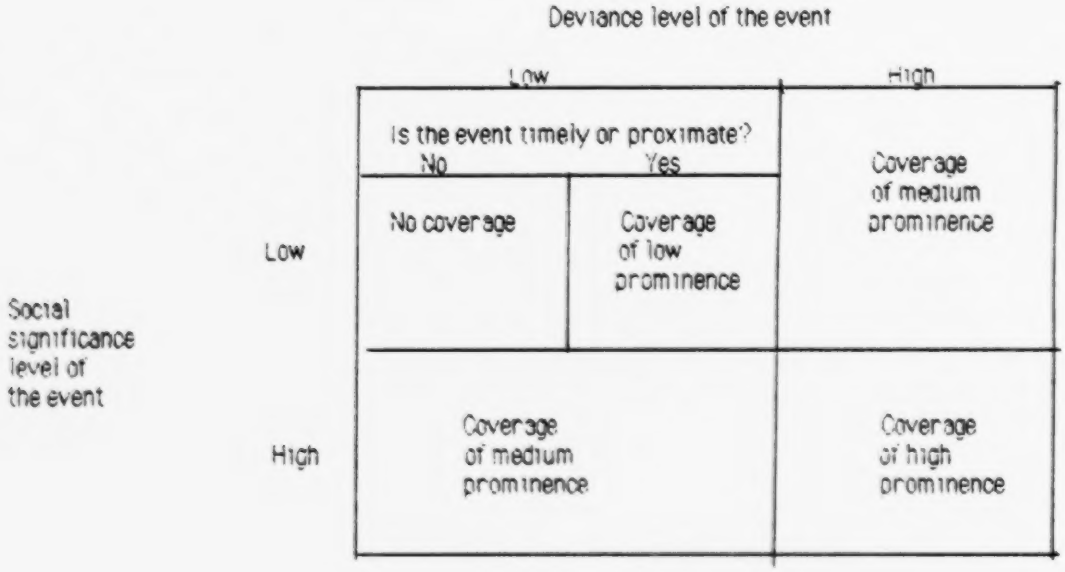

Figure 2 Interaction between normative deviance of the event and US exports to the event country on prominence of televised event coverage

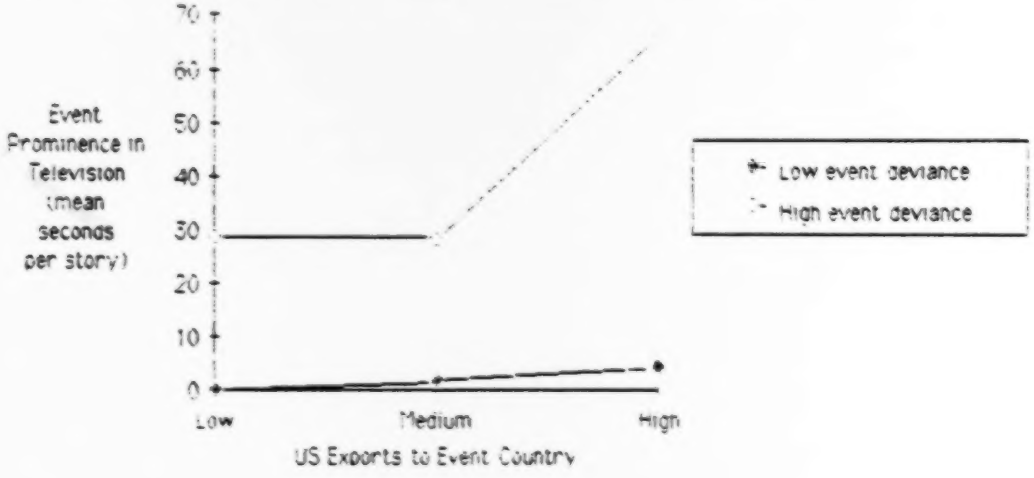

Figure 3. Interaction between normative deviance of the event and US exports to the event country on prominence of newspaper event covers

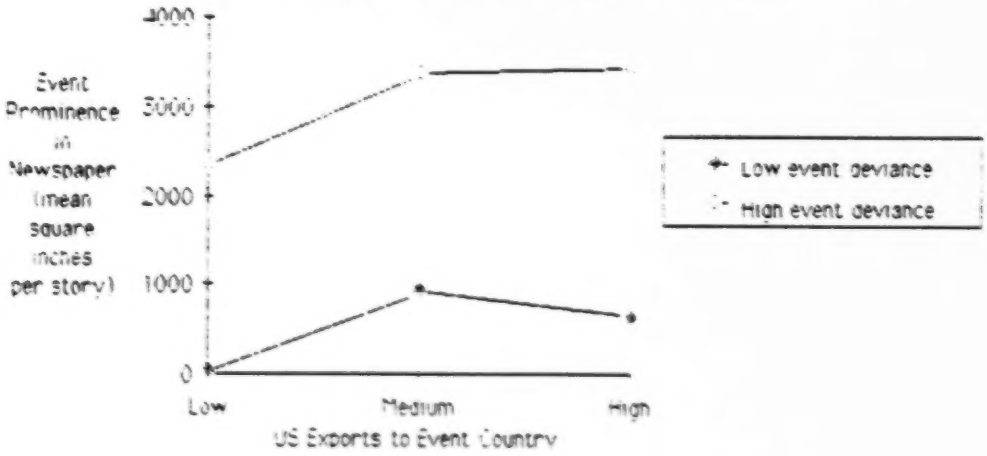

Table 1. Zero-order Pearson correlation coefficients of how prominently the New York Times and U.S. television networks cover world events with deviance, social significance, interactions between selected variables, and contingent condition variables, N=200.

Independent variables	New York Times	Combined TV Networks
Contingent conditions		
Proximity of event to U.S.	-.03	-.03
Social significance characteristics of event country		
Presence/absence of U.S. military	.11	.10
Amount of U.S. exports	.10	.15[a]
Amount of U.S. imports	.10	.07
Financial worth of U.S. businesses	.09	.14[a]
Number of U.S. businesses	.07	.29[a]
Membership in Nato	.07	.06
Membership in Cento	.06	.05
Membership in Rio Treaty	-.06	-.03
Membership in Seato	.05	.00
Amount U.S. economic aid	.04	.04
Membership in Pacific Treaty	.02	.01
Gross domestic product	-.02	.05
Amount U.S. military aid	-.01	.01
Social significance characteristics of the event		
U.S. involvement in the event	-.19[b]	.16[b]
Deviance of the event		
Potential for social change	.32[c]	.29[c]
Normative	.26[c]	.30[c]
Interactions among selected variables		
Norm deviance x soc change deviance	.31[c]	.32[c]
U.S. exports x norm deviance	.25[c]	.38[c]
U.S. involved x social change deviance	.23[c]	.22[c]
U.S. involved x normative deviance	.21[c]	.26[c]
U.S. exports x soc change deviance	.21[b]	.22[b]
U.S. bus worth x soc change deviance	.17[b]	.21[c]
Number U.S. bus x soc change deviance	.14[a]	.31[c]
U.S. business worth x norm deviance	.14[a]	.30[c]
Number U.S. business x norm deviance	.12[a]	.41[c]
Number U.S. business x U.S. bus worth	.11	.23[c]
Number U.S. business x U.S. exports	.10	.25[c]
U.S. exports x U.S. business worth	.10	.13
Number U.S. business x U.S. involved	.05	.29[c]
U.S. exports x U.S. involved	.05	.15[a]
U.S. business worth x U.S. involved	.04	.15[a]

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a $p < .05$
b $p < .01$
c $p < .001$

Table 2. Hierarchical regression analysis of independent variables on the prominence of event coverage in the New York Times, N=200.

Blocks of independent variables	Std. Beta*	R^2 Change	Total R^2
1. Proximity	.03	.00	.00
2. U.S. involvement	-.24[b]	.06[b]	.06[b]
3. Country-based measures of social significance			
Pacific membership	-.20		
Exports from U.S.	.18		
U.S. military presence	.17		
Gross domestic product	-.10		
Membership in Seato	.09		
Membership in Nato	.09		
U.S. economic aid	.05		
U.S. military aid	.05		
Imports to U.S.	.05		
U.S. business worth	.05		
Membership in Rio	-.05		
Number of U.S. businesses	.03		
Membership in Cento	.01	.04	.10
4. Deviance measures			
normative deviance	.18		
social change deviance	.29[b]	.15[c]	.25[b]
5. Interactions			
U.S. involved x U.S. bus worth	-1.33		
Norm deviance x U.S. exports	1.15[a]		
Norm deviance x U.S. bus worth	-1.04[a]		
Norm deviance x U.S. involved	-.80		
Soc change deviance x number U.S. bus	.57		
Norm deviance x number U.S. business	-.55		
Norm deviance x soc change deviance	.32		
Soc change deviance x U.S. bus worth	.23		
U.S. bus worth x number U.S. business	-.22		
U.S. exports x number U.S. business	.21		
U.S. exports x U.S. bus worth	.17		
Soc change deviance x U.S. involved	13		
Soc change deviance x U.S. exports	-.07	.11	.36[b]

* Beta from step on which the variable entered the equation

a $p<.05$
b $p<.01$
c $p<.001$

Table 3. Hierarchical regression analysis of independent variables on the prominence of event coverage in three U.S. television networks, N=200.

Blocks of independent variables	Std. Beta*	R^2 Change	Total R^2
1. Proximity	.03	.00	.00
2. U.S. involvement	-.13	.02	.02
3. Country-based measures of social significance			
Exports from U.S.	.67[b]		
Imports to U.S.	.50[b]		
Number of U.S. businesses	.37[c]		
Gross domestic product	-.18		
U.S. economic aid	-.12		
Pacific membership	-.07		
U.S. business worth	-.06		
Membership in Nato	-.05		
Membership in Rio	-.04		
U.S. military aid	.03		
U.S. military presence	-.02		
Membership in Seato	-.02		
Membership in Cento	.00	.16[a]	.18[a]
4. Deviance measures			
normative deviance	.20[a]		
social change deviance	.23[b]	.12[c]	.30[c]
5. Interactions			
U.S. exports x number U.S. business	1.57		
U.S. bus worth x number U.S. business	-1.24		
Soc change deviance x U.S. bus worth	1.13[b]		
Norm deviance x U.S. exports	1.06		
Soc change deviance x number U.S. bus	1.05		
U.S. involved x U.S. bus worth	1.03[a]		
Norm deviance x U.S. bus worth	-.96		
Norm deviance x Number U.S. business	.88[a]		
U.S. exports x U.S. bus worth	.58		
Soc change deviance x U.S. exports	-.55		
Soc change deviance x U.S. involved	.22		
Norm deviance x U.S. involved	-.13		
Norm deviance x soc change deviance	.10	.18[c]	.49[c]

* Beta from step on which the variable entered the equation

a $p<.05$
b $p<.01$
c $p<.001$

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